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ESSEX
London
KENT
SUSSEX
THE AUTHOR'S ROUTE
through
ARGENTINA AND BOLIVIA
during the Swedish
CHACO-CORDILLERA-EXPEDITION
1901 - 1902
Author's Route.
Excursions in which the author did not take part, but which were carried out after he had joined the Expedition.
Places where archaeological collections were made by the Expedition.
Places where ethnographical collections were made by the Expedition.
Boundary between Argentina and Bolivia.
Railway.
As this route map is also intended to give some idea of the geographical knowledge, at the beginning of this century, of the districts investigated, it has been based solely on then existing maps.
CHACO
GRAN
CHANÉ
SALTA
JUJUY
Buenos Aires

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1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

136 very abundant in fish, and in their waters, as in most of the larger lagoons, alligators (Caiman sclerops) are present (fig. 15).

101 El Gran Chaco was in beginning of this century the country of the free Indians. Of the many tribes that inhabit this vast region, I have come into contact with Choroti, Chiriguano, Toba, Mataco and Tapiete, but it was only from among the first-mentioned that I had an opportunity to obtain any extensive collection.

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Fig. 3. Dry soil forest region. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. Rob. Fries.

101 114 In the literature dealing with the Chaco, there was, prior to our expedition, not to be found much information concerning the Choroti. Their tribal name, in the form of »xolota», was, however, known already in the 18th century, when it was, probably for the first time, mentioned by Pedro Lozano, who, in a work published in 1733, enumerates a long string of names of tribes inhabiting the Chaco.[1] In his work, »Explorations dans l'Amerique du Sud», Thouar only gives a few, stray, items of information about the Choroti, he having come across that tribe on the Pilcomayo. The Choroti were, therefore, at the time of our expedition a

[1] Lozano (1).

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

101 tribe practically unknown from an ethnographical point of view, a circum-
114 stance which accounts for the interest paid to the incomplete description of the material culture of the Choroti tribe that I put before the 14th International Congress held at Stuttgart in 1904.[1] My lecture, which was also available in print, was in extenso incorporated with the report of the proceedings of the Congress,[2] and later appeared, slightly abridged, in »Anthropologie Bolivienne».[3] For reasons I have stated in the foreword of my book, En förgången värld,[4] my first description of the Choroti must nevertheless be looked upon as a work done in some haste.

114 Since the Swedish expedition of 1901—1902, various explorers have made valuable studies of the Choroti, and considerable increased our knowledge as to the physical properties, mode of life, and customs, of this tribe. The eminent anthropologist, Robert Lehmann-Nitsche, has carried out extensive anthropological measurements of a large number of individuals of this tribe,[5] and has also studied the language of these Indians.[6] Erland Nordenskiöld has made most exhaustive and exact study of the daily life of the tribe;[7] Rafael Karsten has specialized in studying dances and magic rites among the Choroti and other Chaco tribes,[8] and Hunt has made a study of their language.[9] Valuable research work with regard to Indian tribes, who from a cultural point of view are allied to the Choroti, has been done, among others, by Ducci,[10] Fric,[11] Grubb,[12] Hawtrey,[13] Herrmann,[14] Karsten,[15] Koch-Grünberg,[16] and Nordenskiöld.[17] Whilst travelling in the Chaco 1908—1909, Nordenskiöld spent a long time with the Choroti and shared their way of living, as if he had been

[1] von Rosen (3).
[2] Internationaler Amerikanisten-Kongress (1), p. 649 et seq.
[3] Chervin (1), Part 4, p. 140 et seq.
[4] von Rosen (1), pp. 1—3.
[5] Lehmann-Nitsche (1).
[6] Lehmann-Nitsche (2).
[7] Nordenskiöld (11), (13), (17), (18), (19), (20), (21) and (22).
[8] Karsten (1), (2), (3), (4) and (5).
[9] Hunt (1).
[10] Ducci.
[11] Fric.
[12] Grubb.
[13] Hawtrey (1).
[14] Herrmann (1).
[15] Karsten (1), (2), (3), (4) and (5).
[16] Koch (1) and (2).
[17] Nordenskiöld (11), (13), (17), (18), (19), (20), (21) and (22).

[text continues on p. 23]

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

114 By his living like an Indian among Indians, Nordenskiöld has in an unparalleled way succeeded in enriching ethnographical science, and his research achievement is one of the most noteworthy in the history of modern South American exploration.

101 The Choroti Indians are also called Chorote, Cholote, Tsoloti, Soloti and Solote. The final »s» added to these tribal names comes from the Spanish plural form, and has therefore in later works rightly been left out. The name they call themselves by is »yófuaha», or »yóshuaha», which probably means »pigeon people». If so, the pigeon would be the totem animal of the Choroti.

After the publishing of the valuable research, made by Hunt, of the Choroti language, it has become necessary to class this tribe with the [197] Mataco group, although the material culture of the Choroti in many respects shows an equally close kinship with the civilization of certain Guaycurú and Mascoi tribes, such as the Toba and the Lengua. That the Choroti have had their abode in the Chaco ever since the Inca period is highly probable, because, as already mentioned, their material culture in a [174] very obvious degree points to a strong influence from the ancient mountain civilization to the west.

101 131 The section of the Choroti tribe among whom I pursued my study, was at the time of our expedition located in the neighbourhood of Caiza (see map). Some of the Choroti I met in this district had, however, their chief place of resort on the Pilcomayo, and thither they intended to return after a visit to the sugar plantations in northern Argentina. As I have [166] been informed, my red friends from the Caiza region at some later time did something or other to the annoyance of the settlers of the district, whereupon they moved further into the Chaco, and have since that time probably never again come into contact with whites. According to Nordenskiöld, other Choroti have, however, immigrated into the country about Caiza. The main part of the Choroti tribe inhabits the region immediately to the east of the Pilcomayo, and roughly between 21° 45' and 22° 45' of south latitude.

Our main camp, Tatarenda, was situate a few leagues south-west of Caiza, and the Choroti of whom I made a study were located one league south-west of the camp.

000 Of the Choroti among whom I carried out my investigations, the men

[Text continues on p. 31]

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

who was wearing it, for, according to his statement, this ornament originally belonged to an enemy killed by him (Cf. the »scalp lock» on the Indian in fig. 42).

On the Spaniards' first coming to the Inca kingdom, there was, naturally, in that country much that aroused their great astonishment. Among

Fig. 50. Bamboo casing for keeping ostrich-feather head ornaments. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/6. Riksm. 10. 3. 18.

Fig. 51. Palm leaf object, said to be meant for wearing in a frontlet. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 1/6. Riksm. 03. 3. 89.

other things, the strangers found it especially remarkable that Peruvian men of noble birth were wearing immense, often metal-mounted wooden discs, or hanging ornaments, in their pierced ear-lobes, which were distended to a monstrous size. This custom occasioned the Spaniards to give the Peruvian nobles the nickname of »orejones» — which might be

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

101 translated »big ears» — an appellation subsequently transferred to all such tribes within, or in the neighbourhood of, the Inca kingdom, among whom the wearing of ear-lobe discs was customary.

171 304 301 In our days, the practice of wearing ear-lobe discs is met with among a number of tribes distributed over the whole of that part of South America which lies to the north of the tropic of Capricorn.[1] On the Chaco, ear-lobe discs are extensively worn by the Choroti, Lengua[2] and Ashluslay, and are also found among some of the Mataco and Toba Indians.[3] Also in North America the custom of wearing ear-lobe discs, or blocks, appears to be very ancient.[4] The wearing of this kind of ear discs is, however, not limited to America, but is also found, among other places, in Central Africa.[5]

[302] 301 304

[178] Fig. 52. Brush-like ornament of false hair, for wearing pushed in under the frontlet. Choroti. Gran Chaco, Bolivia.[6] a. Riksm. 03. 3. 65.

[882]

Among the Choroti, all the men and youths have their ear-lobes pierced, and in the holes they wear discs (see for instance figs. 17, 30, 39, 53). These discs were almost always used for everyday wear, and invariably on state occasions. It very seldom happened that I saw a Choroti man without his ear-discs. Latterly, the practice of wearing ear-lobe discs has, in the same way as other old customs once prevalent among the Choroti, become less common, and nowadays it seems that the Choroti, for everyday use at least, often appear without their discs. The piercing of the ear-lobes is performed with a bone awl, or cactus spine, already during boyhood, but I did not see any boys under puberty age wearing discs. Neither is there anything in the literature indicating that Choroti boys put on ear discs before that age.[6]

But, on the other hand, immediately on having had their ear-lobes pierced, the Choroti children take to wearing bits of grass, or very slender

[1] Nordenskiöld (11), map 18.
[2] Koch (1), p. 218, and Hawtrey (1), p. 283.
[3] Nordenskiöld (11), p. 122.
[4] See for instance Moore (2), p. 282.
[5] von Rosen (4), plate 7, fig. A, and von Rosen (7), p. 124.

[114] [6] When it has been stated that the wearing of ear-lobe discs has nothing to do with pubescence [Nordenskiöld (13), p. 68], this is correct only in so far as the ear discs of the Choroti, like the tembeta of the Chiriguano, may, perhaps, first and foremost be attributed with a magical significance, and that their character of being symbols of puberty is only a secondary one. Cf. Karsten (4), p. 155.

2: Nordenskiold E-5 (1908-1909) 1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

The Ashluslay are called *Suhin*[1]) by the Lengua-Mascoy, *Etéhua* by the Tapiete, *Áshli* by the Choroti, *Sówua* or *Sówcash* by the Mataco, and *Sotegraik*[2]) by the Toba. A 101

They call themselves *Ashluslay*, as I have ascertained, and this is confirmed by HUNT[3]). The latter says it is the settlers on the lower Pilcomayo that call them Chunupi, a circumstance which has evidently misled him to identify them with a tribe of that name which has been known for a long time. The statements of settlers are to be taken with caution. An error of the same kind is to call the Ashluslay Tapiete.

The Choroti call themselves *Yóshuaha* (*Yójuaha*, acc. to HUNT.) However, I have preferred the former name, this being, moreover, the form in which it generally appears in the literature of the subject. It derives originally from the Chiriguano. They are called *Mánue* or *Mániue* by the Mataco. C 101

No archaeological investigations of any kind have been carried out in the territory of the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians. Not a single old grave, not one old dwelling has been examined there. And probably an archaeological examination of their territory would yield but little. It is exclusively the modern civilisation of these Indians from which we will try to draw some conclusions anent their history. A C 102

The Choroti and the Ashluslay live on and in the vicinity of the Rio Pilcomayo, a considerable river which flows down from the Bolivian plateau into the Rio Paraguay. A C 131

For the greater part the Rio Pilcomayo is not properly navigable. About where it cuts the tropic of Capricorn it loses itself in extensive swamps, the well-known «Esteros del Padre Patiño». It has a very unsettled course. More than once it has changed its course, and as you go from the A C 133

[1]) HUNT, p. 257.
[2]) FRIČ (1) p. 210.
[3]) p. 257.

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco

Choroti SK6

only smoke for pleasure, and I doubt whether they ever used the tobacco ceremonially as is the rule among the Indians of tropical South America. The custom is evidently of comparatively recent origin and has been introduced by the whites.

Choroti is a Guarani name given to our Indians by the Avas (Chiriguano) and now recognized by themselves. Their proper tribal name, however, is *Jóhuaha* [1]), a word the etymology of which is obscure but which seems to be equivalent to »our own people». Among themselves the Choroti never use any other name than Jóhuaha.

In the history of the Gran Chaco, a small and peaceful tribe like the *Choroti* can have played only an insignificant rôle, and the earliest European explorers seem not to have known them. The first author who mentions them is Father Lozano, S. J., who in his book of 1733 calls them Xolotas. But he tells us absolutely nothing about them, and the same may be said of several later travellers who occasionally mention them. The Swedish traveller von Rosen, who made a short visit among the Choroti in 1902, has published a small study of these Indians under the title *The Chorotes Indians of the Bolivian Chaco* (Stockholm, 1904). But v. Rosen's paper is based on very superficial observation and contains several errors which make its ethnographic value rather problematic. [2]) This may partly be due to the fact that v. Rosen never visited the Choroti in their own land on the other side of the Pilcomayo river, but only those families of the tribe which have been in the habit of living for certain periods near the village Caiza, situated just north of Yacuiba, at the easternmost cordilleras of the Andes.

[1]) Nordenskiöld erroneously gives this name as *Yóshuahá* (*Indianerleben*, p. 28) and Hunt equally erroneously as *Yofuaha* (*El Choroti o Yofuaha*, *Revista del Musco de La Plata*. Bd. 23. Liverpool, 1915). The Indians themselves most clearly pronounce their name *Jóhuaha*, with the accent on the first syllable. The f-sound is lacking in the Choroti language, as in the languages of many other South American Indians.

[2]) Thus, when v. Rosen says that »polygamy only occurs among the rich, and the caciques have quite a number of wives», this sentence alone contains three mistakes. First, the Choroti are strictly monogamous, any form of polygamy being prohibited by their social morality and their women, who are extremely jealous; secondly, there are no »rich» people among the Choroti, all being equally rich or equally poor; and thirdly, although we may speak of caciques or chiefs among them, these have very limited power and do not distinguish themselves from the rest of the tribe in the way v. Rosen's statement seems to indicate. — Evidently v. Rosen has confounded the Choroti chiefs with those of other and more advanced tribes, probably the Avas (Chiriguano) or the Tobas.